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ABSTRACT

A study was done to examine changing representations of knowledge in the field of comparative and international education since the 1950s, to identify dominant paradigms and theories in use today and to suggest how these diverse constructs may be mapped at macro and micro levels of social reality as an intellectual field. The study used textual analysis to examine the emergence of paradigmatic and theoretical conceptions. Three major representation of knowledge in the field were identified: the orthodox, the heterodox, and the enfolding heterogeneous. The orthodox is described as linear, hierarchical and centralized and developing in the 1950s and 1960s. The heterodoxy of the 1970s and 1980s was branching, with the emergence of new inquiry perspectives. The new heterogeneity developing in the 1990s is disputatious yet contains complementary knowledge communities. Also found were convergent trends across knowledge communities with discussion noting recent eclectic adaptations as comparative educators and their texts became more polyocular and reflexive. This allows new theory to emerge from combinations of existing theories and the paradigmatic dispositions of our time. Included are 4 figures and a 74-item bibliography. (JB)

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MAPPING PARADIGMS AND THEORIES IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

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> "All social action flows through boundaries determined by classification schemes" (Darnton, 1984, p. 192)

> "The basic idea of phenomenography is that each phenomenon can be experienced or conceptualized in a limited number of qualitatively different ways, and it is the task of phenomenography to map these possible understandings" (Marton, 1988, p. 196)

Comparative and international education studies comprise a synthetic field using ideas, methods and data from a wide variety of disciplines, research traditions and educational practices. Accordingly, efforts to type and map knowledge perspectives being used in the field at any particular time via conceptual constructs--such as paradigms and theories--will be a complex and interpretive activity. This study examines changing representations of knowledge in the field since the 1950s; identifies dominant paradigms and theories today; and suggests how these increasingly diverse constructs may be mapped at macro and micro levels of social reality as an intellectual field. Here I am guided by Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" where intellectual fields are viewed by actors as systems of "durable, transposable dispositions" produced by a dialectical interaction with objective structures and conditions.

To reveal such dispositions, I use Barthes' notion of text, i.e., "that social space that leaves no language safe or untouched, that allows no enunciative subject to hold the position of judge, teacher, analysis confessor, or decoder" (Barthes (1979, p. 81). This decentering approach is a political and intellectual practice that interprets comparative education texts in relation to other texts, rather than in relation to their authors. A distinction between the work and the text may also be helpful. Literary works are concrete and visible while the text reveals and articulates itself according to and against certain rules. Where the work is held in the hand, the text is held in language. Here the original modernist linking of subject (author) and object (work) is replaced with practices (writing) and the intertextual (field). This relationship of the text to its intercultural field, as illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, is creative, active, and practical. Here texts are seen to continuously interact in an open field which they produce and

by which they are produced, and in which they must be interpreted.

1. Changing Representations of Knowledge

While comparative educators only began to explicitly discuss their theoretical framing dispositions following the appearance of Thomas Kuhn's magnum opus in the 1970s, implicit knowledge perspectives can be identified in work of the field's founding fathers. The 18th and 19th Century foundational texts of Berchtold, Jullien and Basset, for example, all advocate encyclopedic description and macro comparisons of public instruction to generalize on its functional efficiency in the then emergent project of individual and social modernity. With the ensuing construction of national systems of education in the industrial, or modern world, and their transfer in part to the colonized world, comparative education knowledge concerns shifted to the study of social forces in the shaping and differentiation of these systems. The work of Sadler, Kandel and Hans--among others--helped by 1950 to consolidate the functionalist paradigm as the dominant if implicit and unspoken way of representing or modeling national and crossnational educational phenomena.

Figure 1 below seeks to capture the knowledge orientations of major texts in comparative education during three major periods: i.e., in the 1950s and 1960s when functionalist and positivist orthodoxy dominated; in the contentious 1970s and 1980s when the radical functionalist, humanist and radical humanist paradigms challenged orthodoxy and unresolved heterodox struggles prevailed; and in the emergence of our more heterogeneous time as we move into what Vaclav Havel (1992) and others have argued is the end of the modern era with its "cult of objectifying and . . . search for a universal key to salvation." To facilitate comparison, Figure 1 distinguishes between eight kinds--or directions--of hermeneutic reference within the texts noted, i.e., the author's representation of knowledge control and organization; of knowledge and ontology, framing, and style; of knowledge and gender/emotions; and of inquiry products. Textual representations in comparative education, it might be noted, have

Characteristics of Textual Representations	Linear 1950's - 1960's	Branching 1970's - 1980's	Intertwined 1990's -
Knowledge Control and Organization:	Orthodoxy; hierarchial and centralized	Heterodoxy: Emergence of "neo-" variants and new inquiry perspectives	Heterogeneity: Disputatious yet complimentary knowledge communities
Knowledge Relations:	Hegemonic and totalizing	Paradigm clash-i.e., "either/or" competition of incommensurable world views	Emergent post-paradigmatic...i.e., rhizomatic and interactive
Knowledge Ontology:	Realist views predominate	Realist and relativist views contest reality	More perspectivist views encompass multiple realities & perspectives
Knowledge Framing:	Functionalism and positivism dominant	Functionalist, critical and interpretive views compete and decenter	More eclectic, reflexive and pragmatic
Knowledge Style:	Parsimonious and value-free	Agonistic and partisan	Increasingly intertextual, ecologistic, & contingent
Knowledge/Gender:	Maleness: Logic dominant	Feminist ideas emerge, compete, decenter	Gender issues more open and indeterminate
Knowledge/Emotions:	Optimism and confidence	Disdain, incredulity, or exhilaration	Ambivalence--i.e., nostalgia for certainty; delight in diversity
Knowledge Products:	Law-like crossnational statements the ideal	Competing ideologies	Explanation, interpretation, simulation, translation and mapping
Illustrative Texts:	Adams & Farrell (1969); Anderson (1961); Bereday (1964); Husén (1967); Noah & Eckstein (1969); Schultz (1961)	Anderson (1977); Bourdieu & Passeron (1977); Bowles & Gintis (1976); Carnoy (1984); Clignet (1981); Epstein (1983); Heyman (1979); Husén (1988); Karabel & Halsey (1977); Kelly & Nihlen (1982); Paulston (1977)	Altbach (1991); Cowen (1990); Lather (1991); Masemann (1990); Paulston (1990; 1993); Paulston & Tidwell (1992); Rust (1991); Stromquist (1990); von Recum (1990)

FIGURE 1: Changing Representations of Knowledge in Comparative and International Education Texts, 1950's - 1990's

Source: Texts cited

for over a century rather closely tracked the ascendancy of the functionalist paradigm in sociology, in social anthropology, in political science, and in modernization and human capital theories, if at a usual time lag of half a decade or so.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

1.1 Orthodoxy

Following World War II with the crises of decolonization and cold war competition, comparative education studies–and especially those in North America--continued to be framed in evolutionary and functionalist perspectives while moving closer to the social sciences and their concerns to explain and inform social and economic development using the vocabulary if not the rigor of nomothetic science. The florescence of comparative and international education studies during these decades of functionalist and positivist orthodoxy drew strength from the creation of scholarly journals in the field, an increase in governmental and foundation support, and the founding of numerous comparative education centers in leading US and European universities.

At the Comparative Education Center at the University of Chicago, for example, the first director argued in a foundational text (Anderson, 1961) that the ultimate aim of comparative education is--as with the social sciences--systematic knowledge of causation, i.e., the shaping of facts into nomothetic or law-like generalizations. Where earlier educational research and educational psychology programs had gained entrance and eventual methodological respectability in European and North American higher education via statistics and experimental methods, Anderson proposed that comparative education should seek acceptance with a strategy of: 1) integration with the functionalist social sciences;, 2) the use of the natural sciences model of hypothesis testing and analysis of co-variation; and 3) a commitment to theoretical explanation with nomothetic ambition.

To this end, he proposed a strengthening of two broad yet complementary approaches to comparative education and their integration into social science research. The first, i.e., intra-educational analysis generating strictly educational data, viewed education as if it were an autonomous social system. This strand would generate the statistical correlations seen as indispensable for comparing educational systems and practice. The second approach, i.e., interdisciplinary research on educational--societal relations, would examine the social, political and economic functions and tasks laid upon the schools by a society. Anderson's strategy for the creation of a more systematic and social scientific comparative education found strong support in related efforts to establish the field both in the United States and in Western Europe. Anderson saw only hypothesis testing using evolutionary and functional approaches as suitable knowledge framing ideas if comparative education aspired to capture relevant aspects of "the concrete reality."

Bereday (1964) also proposed a comparative methodology that built upon positivist and evolutionist assumptions, yet chose instead to stress the need for an inductive non-social science comparative methodology capable of simultaneous analysis of educational practice across national frontiers. Ideally, hypothesis testing to advance the identification of laws in comparative education would also follow. Bereday's methodology-driven approach sought to develop an increasingly analytical and dispassionate field akin to comparative politics and comparative religion, i.e., a field "unhampered by ethical or pragmatic considerations."

In a closely related text, Noah and Eckstein (1969) sought to develop a more scientific comparative education not in comparative method, as advocated by their teacher Bereday, but in a hypothesis testing model taken from Karl Popper and the natural sciences. They saw the attainment of rigorous scientific explanation in comparative education as a difficult goal, but one most likely to result from a methodological empiricism grounded in functionalist assumptions that avoided reflection on ideology and theory. Instead, research framing choices

focused on testing low level propositions about the relationship of education to society. Questions about the form and function of schooling similar to Anderson's would be restricted to matters of pedagogical efficiency, and analysis of educational relations with more complex systems. Here the correlational method is seen as a defining if imperfect substitute for experimentation. Explanation in comparative education is presented as progressive, i.e., as an evolutionary process proceeding sequentially from: a) curiosity, description and primitive quantification to b) qualitative interpretation examining forces and factors, to c) sophisticated quantification offering a means of rigorous scientific testing to support policy and planning-and ultimately, to d) "scientific prediction." The empirical science model would, Noah and Eckstein contended, bring comparative education into a condition of epistemological modernity at a time when, ironically, not only scientism, but the very foundations of modernity would come under serious attack in the social sciences and the humanities as well (Rorty, 1989).

The International Evaluation of Educational Achievement Project (IEA), reported by Husén (1967), brought to fruition antecedent calls for a more scientific comparison of educational practice in schools around the world. Driven in part by U.S. fears following Sputnik, and Western European concerns with the emergence of mass secondary education, the IEA project drew most heavily on positivistic and nomothetic traditions in educational measurement. For the first time, comparative educators would measure international differences in school achievement using internationally developed and agreed upon objective tests in a pathbreaking effort to account for variations in test results. In time, Husén suggested, a more scientific understanding of intellectual functioning and curriculum would produce efficient and predictable instructional practices. The project also provided a working model of a new comparative education seeking causal explanation via correlational studies rather than the narrative description, vulgar functionalism, and moral exhortation commonly found in earlier studies. With the involvement of comparative educators from Teachers College,

Columbia University, the Universities of Chicago and Stockholm, and numerous ministries of education around the world, the project promised to validate the scientific aspirations of the field in the 1950s and 1960s. Viewing the world as an educational laboratory, and using comparative and correlational methods, the IEA project initially expressed the aim of discovering cognitive universals. Instead, considerably less grand findings pointed to the importance of unintended outcomes of schooling, and the dangers of too much data and too little conceptual modeling. Comparison remained problematic given the Project's dependence on precoded, forced choice survey questions and the embeddedness of each school and educational system in complex and unique webs of cultural, economic and political relations.

By the late 1960s a number of funding agencies and comparative educators turned their attention to international education, a new branch of comparative education that addressed problems of educational planning, development, and theory construction in macro studies of educational and social change in largely poor, newly independent countries. In a canonical text representing this structural-functional variant of the prevailing orthodoxy, Adams and Farrell (1969) proposed that the primary purpose of comparative and development studies should be the generalization and specification of testable propositions, or statements of relations across objective variables. Scholars in comparative education were seen to have been most reluctant to undertake this task, thus . . . "our knowledge remains scattered and unsystematic." The authors' corrective was to structure knowledge within and across educational systems according to Parsonian notions of unilineal differentiation. Parson's laws, they argued "will follow an approximately similar sequence in all societies" undergoing modernization.

1.2 Heterodoxy

By the early 1970s, functionalist theory and positivist methods had achieved the status of orthodoxy in comparative and education studies at the same time they came under serious attack in the social sciences and in development studies from a combination of emergent critical

and interpretive knowledge communities (Wiley, 1990). Reasons for the vulnerability and eventual decentering of functionalism are suggested in the shift from a segregated to a plural society in the U.S. With cultural pluralism came epistemological and ontological pluralism. Functionalist theory proved unable to adequately predict or control frequent failures (Klees, 1991). Equally important, the rise of a global field with numerous new academic centers (Cowen, 1990) and the arrival of new scholars-many from the third world -- challenged the centers of structural-functionalist orthodoxy using antithetical neo-marxist, critical theory, feminist, and dependency perspectives (Altbach, 1991).

The first major decentering of the structural-functionalist world view began following the publication of Berger and Luckmann's seminal text, *The Social Construction of Reality* in 1967. Here the humanist paradigm--and its espousal of the intersubjective, or social origin of all ideas--branched into ethnomethodological and phenomenological perspectives (see Figure 3) while strengthening the arrival of a new ethnographic approach in comparative education.

The radical functionalist world view first elaborated to explain how education functions to reproduce capitalist structures by Althusser (1971), and later by Bowles and Gintis (1976) among others, also rather quickly and effectively mounted a telling critique of structural functionalist explanations of educational reform and modernization efforts. Carnoy (1984) documents the subsequent appearance in the early 1970s of a variety of neo-marxist texts rooted in the historical materialist worldview as early examples of paradigm clash in comparative education texts.

During that time of conflicted knowledge relations, texts drawing on radical functionalist counter-orthodoxy greatly increased in number and influence and produced a powerful critique--if not a successor paradigm--to entrenched Parsonian structural functionalism and its variants in modernization and human capital theories. But, because Lenin and traditional Marxist-Leninist texts portray education as a repressive state apparatus, they paid little

attention to how educational might contribute to a revolutionary socialist strategy. By the 1970s as Carnoy has shown, neo-marxists researchers gave this question their highest priority.

In France, Althusser's interpretations of Marx in the 1960s has the superstructure--including education--determined by the relations of production (1990). The hegemony of the dominant class was seen to lie in the very relations of the means of production and directly defined the purposes and functioning of the educational system. Thus the educational system was seen hyperfunctionally--i.e., it necessarily reproduced the relations of production and any counter hegemonic response from educators or students was precluded.

In the U.S., Bowles and Gintis (1976) applied Althusser's theory of structural correspondence and also sought to construe the reality of American education as a direct reflection of the values and relationships of capitalist production. Thus, attempts to reform schools without corresponding changes in the structure of production, they argued, would always fail.

In Britain, Basil Bernstein and the New Sociology of Education school of thought elaborated a neo-marxist project to study educational institutions as agents of cultural transmission and reproduction. While Bernstein's work on social class influence in the classification and framing of educational knowledge is clearly tied to the radical wing of the "old" sociology of education, he also draws widely upon both the humanist--or interpretive--and functionalist world views. In a perceptive assessment, Karabel and Halsey (1977) concluded that the macro sociological conflict approach of the American neo-marxists and the essentially micro-sociological interpretive studies of the British were highly complementary. Both "waged war" against the common enemies of functionalist theory and methodological empiricism without ever coordinating their critiques.

By the early 1980s a more humanistic marxism, or radical humanism, began to gain prominence in critical studies. Texts framed in this knowledge orientation drew on the critical

theory of the Frankfort School--in Germany led by Jürgen Habermas, in North America by Henry Giroux, and in the third world by Paulo Freíre. As a branch of this intellectual movement, radical feminist texts also began to draw upon critical theory's agenda for the liberation of consciousness. They used a negative dialectical argument to expose education's role in the patriarchal domination of women, much as capitalists are seen to dominate workers in marxist texts. Kelly and Nihlen (1983), for example, critiqued all existing comparative education texts for their silence on education's role in the reproduction of gender inequality. Their reflective critique of their own reproduction framework found that it "fails both to deal with 'deviations' and chart how and when they occur or become significant." The answers, they argued, will not come from deterministic functionalist or radical functionalist analysis of structure or history, but from interpretive research rooted in the humanist and radical humanist paradigms. These world views will reveal how women experience and interpret education in their everyday lives, and how they come to see and resist domination by making the invisible visible (Star, 1991).

With the spread of epistemological pluralism and the decentering of positivist dominance in much of the social sciences in the 1970s and 1980s, humanistic or interpretive research framing choices also began to appear in comparative education texts. An illustrative text by Heyman (1979), for example, laid out an alternative ethnomethodological knowledge orientation, a rationale to replace functionalist approaches with an agenda for ethnographic inquiry in the field. Heyman's text contends that comparative education has not provided useful knowledge to educational planners, policy makers and reformers because of its decontextualized commitment to social "facts" (i.e., the IEA study), its narrow interest in functional and structural relationships (i.e., modernization and marxist research), and its focus on reified social science indicators rather than on interaction among participants in actual social and educational environments. Research based on the measurement of indicators as proxies

for theoretically related concepts result, according to Heyman, in a gross distortion of the very social reality that comparativists seek to reveal and understand. His heterodox argument builds upon Garfinkel's texts of the 1960s and calls for the replacement of all positivist and materialist methods with interpretive approaches claimed to be better able to observe, describe and interpret "this reality" of our everyday existence. Ethnomethodology, i.e., the study of how individuals engage in reality-making processes, is proposed because it promises to capture more of the continuous production of social reality in human interaction than do correlational studies. Correlational studies assume that objects cannot be two things at once or that objects have stable, discreet, and permanent properties--assumptions more appropriate for inquiry in the physical sciences. For Heyman, the level of analysis in comparative studies must shift from macro to micro, from an objectivist-realist to a subjectivist-relativist ontology, and to the study of everyday life. Comparative education research must stop "pretending to be scientific" and instead become microscopic, steer a heuristic course, and build its comparative interpretations and theories through empathetic replication.

In a related paradigmatic study, Clignet (1981) also rejects both functionalist and radical functionalist world views. Despite their apparent differences, Clignet demonstrates that both paradigms share a number of weaknesses. To wit, both use effects to explain events and both stress vertical hierarchical relations at the expense of horizonal interactive relations. In their monocular focus on structure, both ignore how assimilation and replication functions performed by schools are contingent on critical sets of interaction among individuals and social groups located within the same layers of social reality. Both perspectives prevent researchers from analyzing the various mechanisms used by schools in assimilation and replication functions, and both prevent researchers from differentiating between the process of educational interactions and their outcomes in student's life chances. Instead, Clignet looks to behavioral science and proposes a biological or psychological framework that distinguishes the perspective

of each individual organism and differentiates its modes of adaption to the environment--in this case, the school environment of teachers and students. This ecologistic approach rejects the notion of universal viability in functionalist and critical arguments. Instead, it starts at the micro level with biographies of individual actors and analyses the relationship between educational structures and actions. It sees local adaptation and differentiation as an integral part of social reality, and necessary to historically and culturally contingent strategies if change efforts are to be effective. Accordingly, Clignet argues, the failure of most educational development policies and human capital planning efforts follow from their rigid and uniform top-down pedagogical treatments that "reflect ideological rather than scientific principles." By the mid-1980's all foundational knowledge in the field had become vulnerable to this attack (Paulston, 1977, Epstein, 1983).

The first summary of text, seeking to reveal and map paradigmatic and theoretical perspectives in the field appeared in the mid-1970s. My (1977) phenomenographic typing of how the international educational reform literature represented and explained reform efforts and outcomes produced a heterodox, or bipolar juxtaposition of texts framed in either equilibrium or conflict world views. Reform explanations linked: a) the evolutionary, functionalist and systems theories with the equilibrium pole; and b) the marxist, cultural revitalization, and anarchistic/utopian theories to the conflict pole. As texts offering interpretivist, feminist, or problem-approach explanations of educational reform process and outcomes had yet to appear, they were absent from the summary figure. This would not be the case today. As may be seen in Figures 2 and 3, the consequences of subsequent branching and pragmatic entwinement of functionalist, critical and interpretivist knowledge perspectives (Holmes, 1988) and the emergence of radical hermeneutic critique and explanation, as evidenced in many feminist texts, is clearly apparent and burgeoning (Masemann, 1990; Lather, 1991; Stromquist, 1989).

At the same time, Anderson (1977) somewhat qualified his earlier strong advocacy of a totalizing structural-functionalist approach to comparative education. In response to attacks from advocates of competing holistic-interpretive and critical perspectives, he warned that confusion and "vulgar functionalism" arise when investigators "too readily infer ostensible functions of schools from putative societal needs" rather than from strict adherence to "confirmation of many a priori hypotheses" concerning complex matrices of variables explaining functional equivalents among the educational practices of different systems. Despite some pessimism about the state of the art in comparative education, Anderson predicted continued progress in the identification of "functional equivalents for the basic structures and functions of educational systems." He admonished, however, that the price of "progress" would require the exclusion of competing paradigms: "Perhaps, we should cease to speak of society as a 'seamless web' and see it rather as a matrix of .5 correlation coefficients. Accordingly, holistic conceptions of society should be espoused with heavy qualifications, even when we would do not put conflict at the center of our conceptual scheme." (p. 413)

In his CIES presidential address Epstein (1983), a student of Anderson at Chicago, also found comparative education in chaotic disarray over "appropriate methodology" and a battleground of seemingly irreconcilable and competing ideologies. And because "the nature of comparative education is particularly delicate and vulnerable to devastating cleavings," Epstein called for a forbearance of dissensus "until the day we discover a one best method of scholarship. . . in the maturity that is sure to follow from mutual understanding." In his arbitrary dichotomizing of supposedly incommensurable and irreconcilable realist and relativist knowledge orientations, and partisan defense of Anderson's interpretation of positivism, Epstein's text captured well the heterodox knowledge relations of the 1970s.

1.3 Emergent Heterogeneity

Representations of knowledge in comparative education texts began a major shift away

from heterodoxy and centered objective constructs such as paradigms and ideology in the late 1980s (Altbach, 1991). While a few researchers still claim orthodox purity and remain within their paradigmatic and scientistic utopias--and many continue unsuccessful partisan efforts to replace one world view with another--the collapse of grand theory in the social sciences means that no one knowledge community can now claim a monopoly of truth (Wiley, 1990), or claim to fill all intellectual space (Paulston, 1992). Rather, a growing number of researchers see all foundational knowledge--be it positivist "science," or interpretivist "science," or Marxist "science"--as incomplete and problematic.

Husén (1988), for example, pointed the way past heterodoxy with his recognition that no one paradigm can answer all questions, that all serve to complement supposedly conflicting and incommensurable world views. Paulston (1990) sees the field moving from paradigm wars to something like a disputatious community as the use of knowledge becomes more eclectic and reoriented by new ideas and new knowledge constructs such as interpretations, simulations, translations, probes, and conceptual mapping. Knowledge has become more "textual." It is increasingly seen as construction employing a conventional sign system where even non-book texts such as architectural structures, musical compositions, or graphic texts such as maps are seen to "presuppose a signifying consciousness that it is our business to uncover" (Barthes, 1979). With the appearance of post-structural (Cherryholms, 1988) and post modern (Von Recum, 1990; Rust, 1991) studies, comparative education discourse has also begun this excavation with a fundamental shift in knowledge framing from traditional social science and marxist science models, to perspectives of linguistics and the interpretive humanities (Geertz, 1983; Habermas, 1987).

2. Intellectual Communities Today

Figure 2 below presents a taxonomy or synchronic mapping of knowledge perspectives in the field today. Four major root paradigms, or world views, are identified--i.e., the

Root Paradigms/ World Views	Branching "Theories"	Illustrative Texts
Functionalist "Must be"	Modernization/Human Capital	Boli & Meyer (1985); Coombs (1985); Schultz (1989)
	Neofunctionalist	Adams (1988); Plank (1990); Rondinelli et al. (1990)
	Rational Choice/Micro-Macro	Coleman (1987); Turner (1988)
	Conflict Theory	Archer (1984); Bourdieu & Passeron (1977);Paulston (1980)); Weiler (1989b)
	Dependency	Altbach (1989); Arnove (1980)
Radical Functionalist "Will be"	Historical Materialist	Althusser (1990); Bowles & Gintis (1976); Schrag (1986)
	Neomarxist/Postmarxist	Carnoy (1984, 1992); Carnoy & Samoff (1990)
	Cultural Rationalization	Habermas (1987); Weiler (1983); Welsh (1991)
Radical Humanist "Can be"	Critical Theory/Critical Ethnography	Avalos (1986); Foley (1991); Weis (1990)
	Feminist	Kelly & Nihlin (1982); Lather (1991); Stromquist (1989; 1990))
	Poststructuralist/Postmodernist	Cherryholms (1988); Rust (1991); von Recum (1990)
	Pragmatic Interactionist	Holmes (1988); Husén (1988); Paulston & Rippberger (1991)
Humanist "Becoming"	Ethnographic/Ethnological	Gibson & Ogbu (1991); Spindler & Spindler (1987)
	Phenomenographic/Ethnomethodological	Clignet (1981); Heyman (1979); Paulston (1992)

FIGURE 2: A Heuristic Taxonomy of Knowledge Perspectives in Comparative and International Education Texts

Source: Texts cited

functionalist, the radical functionalist, the radical humanist, and the humanist. Some 21 branching theories drawing upon one or more paradigms are identified and linked citing a number of illustrative texts. Together, the interaction of paradigms and theories within texts comprise dynamic intellectual communities. While this figure captures something of the range and diversity of present knowledge perspectives in the field, it can only suggest the intense eclectic borrowing currently taking place across intellectual communities--not only in comparative education, but in almost all areas of intellectual work (Wiley, 1990). Later in Figures 3 and 4 some indication of this knowledge interaction and growth will be presented via the mapping of knowledge relations at macro/metatheoretical, and micro/practice levels.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

2.1 Functionalist/Neofunctionalist

Functionalist theory has seen the growth of numerous vital new branches while the traditional structural-functional paradigm continues to come under heavy attack from all quarters. Humanist texts, for example, critique its "anti-individualism" and "downward conflation" where a supposedly integrated cultural system is seen to create a consensus that engulfs the social and personality systems. Radical functionalist texts attack its "conservatism," "idealism," and willingness to accept structured inequality and human misery as the price of social efficiency, and homeostasis, or moving equilibrium. Neofunctionalist texts seek to address and move beyond these problems by synthesizing core paradigmatic assumptions with opposing paradigms and other theoretical traditions.

Modernization theory, for example, has several branches. The evolutionary functionalist branch (Boli and Meyer, 1985) draws heavily on Durkheim and Parsons to explain how the functional requirements of increasingly complex and differentiated societies and educational systems create a need for mass schooling. Interventionist attempts to modernize educational systems using top-down planning and innovation based on idealized western models and

applied science are in deepening crises (Coombs, 1985) despite efforts by the World Bank and other international agencies to improve efficiency and productivity using human capital and related economic perspectives (Schultz, 1961 and 1989). Texts here have seemingly remained closed for decades to the many lessons of an often failed practice (Klees, 1991).

Neofunctionalists retain Parsons' general social system perspective while opening their texts somewhat to hermeneutic approaches and interperative perspectives (Adams, 1988); to conflicting social and cultural factors in educational reform projects (Rondinelli, et al., 1991); and to a recognition of the centrality of structured inequality and interest group conflict in explanations of failed educational reform (Plank, 1990). In Germany, Niklas Lukman argues that the Western type of modern society differentiates subsystems to produce both scientific theories and reflection--or interpretive--theories. Framing their study of educational knowledge patterns in Germany and France in this perspective, Schwiewer and Keiner (1992) find a marked German preference for a "hermeneutic-reflective style" and a French preference for a "science of education style." Today, these two research orientations have begun to converge.

Rational choice theory as well seeks to undo Parson's great mistake and move action theory away from the macro system level and back towards the actor and possibilities for human agency and more contingent understanding. One branch of rational choice theory draws upon empirical game theory to explain how actors interpret and act in social change situations (Turner, 1988). Rational choice theory is undergoing rapid growth as both neofunctionalists and neomarxists now seek to put into place an empirical base of rational choice micro theory to support a diverse variety of macro theoretical constructs. Coleman (1988) especially has contributed to the development of a broader action theory which synthesizes interests in actors and systems to clarify the meaning of voluntaristic action. Analytical Marxists as well now freely borrow from rational choice and game theory--and even from general equilibrium theory and neoclassical economics--to elaborate the empirical micro

grounding of what their radical texts see as macro-social historical materialist processes (Elster, 1986).

Conflict theory examines symbolic codes and culture-mediated power relations. It draws on both functionalist and macro-historical sociological theory to explain education in contexts of privilege, domination, and cultural reproduction. Building on paradigmatic texts by Weber, Simmel, Dahrendorf, and Collins, conflict theory focuses on consequences of conflict within social and educational systems. In Europe, the cognitive focus is most often on structuralist theories that treat symbolic codes largely as classification systems. European work emphasizes the rationality of symbolic codes within formal systems of knowledge, and often attempts to "de-center" the agency of code production. American approaches tend to focus more on the codes themselves. Archer (1984) for example, presents a "morphogenetic" explanation where mutual causal processes are seen to counteract systemic stress and to facilitate structural differentiation and increased information flow. Conflict theory texts willingly incorporate marxist ideas (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), yet reject historicism and see only continued conflict into the future (Paulston, 1980; Weiler, 1989). With its predilection for intellectual piracy, methodological eclecticism and micro-macro interaction, conflict theory is becoming increasingly attractive as a perspective to study how changing stratification and organization structures are grounded in the interactions, structures, and intersubjectivity of everyday life.

2.2 Radical Functionalist/Neomarxist

While the sort of traditional Marxist structural determinism associated with Althusser's and Bowles and Gintis' texts of the 1970s has largely disappeared, neomarxist and post marxist theory continues--if in something of a state of shock following the collapse of socialist theory and practice in Eastern Europe, in the old USSR, and in much of the Third World. Anticipating this change to some extent, Bowles and Gintis (1986) moved far beyond their earlier radical functionalist model of social class reproduction and called for a new postmarxist theoretical

discourse combining features of liberalism and Marxism. Carnoy and Samoff (1990) are also concerned to rid their earlier Marxist analysis of its more teleological, meta-physical, and hyper-functionalist features. They attempt to break with orthodox Marxist social class theory and present a less deterministic neo-Marxist "transition-state theory" now emphasizing the role of the state over productive forces and class conflict in explaining attempted Third World transitions to socialism. Yet, the theory's inability to recognize--let alone to explain--reverse transitions from socialism to market economies in, for example, Nicaragua, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere indicates a continuing and debilitating nostalgic adherence to historicism and emancipatory modernity in this perspective.

2.3 Radical Humanist/Critical Theory

Cultural rationalization theory (Weiler, 1983; Welsh, 1991) also draws upon a number of what were earlier viewed as ideologically incommensurable perspectives. Habermas (1987), the leading theorist in this community, has proposed an ambitious reconstruction of Marx's grand emancipatory narrative. Rejecting utopian historicism and structuralist notions of base/superstructure, Habermas seeks a new normative foundation to reconstruct Marxism. Moving toward the pragmatic center, he finds useful bases for reconstruction in critical theory, in Meads' intersubjective theory of communicative democracy, in Weber's theories of bureaucracy and progressive cultural rationalization, and in Parsons' action theory.

Critical theory, the main branch growing out of radical humanism, has been a leading contender over the past several decades of paradigm conflict. It is closely related to cultural rationalization theory but more directly attacks the repressive character of western reason, culture and society. Marcuse and Freire have, perhaps, most directly influenced comparative educators' use of this perspective in their advocacy of emancipatory modernity and a revolutionary subject variously resisting domination by the world capitalist system (Arnove, 1980), distorted knowledge relations (Altbach, 1989) or among the feminists, oppressive gender

relations (Kelly and Nihlen, 1982; Stromquist, 1989 and Lather, 1991). A vital and growing variation of this theoretical framing perspective drawing upon Horkheimer's negative dialectics is also found in several recent critical ethnographic studies (Foley, 1991; Weis, 1990). They offer thick descriptions of cultural and economic domination, and examine prospects for resistance--supposedly from the actor's viewpoint.

Examples of post-structuralist (Cherryholms, 1988) and post-modernist (von Recum, 1990, Rust, 1991) theory in comparative education texts are the most difficult to categorize and to map. They are for the most part rooted in both the humanist and radical humanist paradigms (see Figure 3) and focus on language and the rejection of domination. They also reject the truth claims of positivist science, of history, and of classical rationalism (i.e., the notion that one can rank knowledge claims according to intuitive truth standards). Instead, the social world is usually portrayed as a collage of multiple narratives--or, if you will, traces tied to specific forms of empowerment. The time of total relativity is seen to be present everywhere. Post modern texts attack everything that claims to be free of contradiction, closed, uniform or unequivocal. These claims are usurped by paradox, diversity, ambiguity, and chance (Derrida, 1973). From this perspective's extreme relativism, both society and values disintegrate and the subject is decentered and diminished. Science shifts from attempts to discover truth to the creation of new ideas and a preference for paralogical analysis. In redefining educational goals, the post modern perspective avoids the imposition of normative decisions and looks instead to a better understanding of the forcefield in which education occurs, to local knowledge, and to "decentralized small units" (von Recum, 1990).

From this perspective, the rise of the media gives a new prominence to language and post modern science turns to language games as the minimum relation required for society to exist. Where modernist science permits only the single linear language game of denotation and progress, post modern science favors a "pragmatics" of language game. As in traditional or

pre-modern narrative, the positions of speaker, listener, and referent of the narrative are more fluid and interchangeable. Society is seen to be reproduced in a circular, face-to-face fashion. Science becomes just another language game incapable of legitimating, or delegitimating, the other language games (Lyotard, 1988).

It seems likely that post modern theory with its timely and provocative new ideas has potential to occupy a good deal of the space vacated by the collapse of Marxist structuralism with its tired global philosophy of the subject and its teleological vision of social evolution. Instead, post modern theory rejects modernity as a historical movement toward control based on foundational knowledge and replaces rationality and logic with paralogy or counter logic. Its radical perspective links power/knowledge and views emancipatory moral rhetorics and resistance to power as merely another of the forms assumed by power (Foucault, 1980).

Comparative education texts have made valuable contributions to understanding educational relations in earlier transformations to capitalism, urbanism and democracy. Today, with texts claiming the end of the modern era (Havel, 1992), poststructural and postmodern theories--overstated as they may be--offer comparative educators difficult yet challenging new ideas in attempts to theorize the present transformation into as yet unknown educational and cultural patterns (Rust, 1991).

2.4 Humanist/Interpretivist

The pragmatic interactionist perspective in comparative education texts also rejects totalizing theory and favors interpretive method in attempts to understand how social actors come to consciousness within social structures. It is concerned with understanding the larger questions of human experience, and it seeks to determine through the testing of knowledge in practice and community which perspectives have pragmatic i.e., operational and heuristic value (Holmes, 1988, Husén, 1988). Drawing upon Dewey and Mead--and more recently on neo-pragmatic texts by Habermas and Rorty--pragmatic interactionism offers a central space at the

paradigmatic margins (see Figure 3), where all world views and perspectives might interact in the context of educational practice, or work (Paulston, 1991).

Equally central to the humanist paradigm, the ethnographic perspective favors local knowledge and interpretation over totalizing paradigmatic constructs and modernization agendas for progressive change (Geertz, 1983). In comparative education, this perspective has been used to describe participant perception of classroom experiences among poor Latin American students (Avalos, 1986) and patterns of academic persistence and achievement among immigrant and involuntary minority children (Gibson and Obu, 1991). While the ethnographic perspective provides description of how ethnic groups and others view and interpret educational practice, ethnographic data as "thick description" have little if any comparative value without the imposition of an ethnological or ideological comparative overlay (Spindler and Spindler, 1987).

Accordingly, neither Heyman's proposal (1979) to replace positivism with ethnomethodological method and perspective, nor Clignet's (1981) call for a phenomemological approach to comparative education have as yet garnered much support. But with the field now entering a stage of eclectic critical post-positivism, the humanist paradigm with its concerns for consciousness, creativity and emotion is combining with other perspectives in the void left by the collapse of the scientific functionalist and the emancipatory grand meta-narratives. Here, phenomenography as well shows promise in recent efforts to map increasingly diverse knowledge communities now interacting within the dynamic intellectual field of comparative and international education texts (Paulston and Tidwell, 1991; Paulston, 1992).

Phenomenography is about the qualitatively different ways in which people experience or think about various phenomena, about the relations between human beings and their world (Marton, 1988). In comparative education, phenomenographic studies have sought, as in this entry, to characterize how researchers see, apprehend, and think about knowledge constructs

such as "paradigms and theories" at different times, and in different knowledge cultures and subcultures. Through textual analysis, phenomenographic studies seek not to describe things "as they are," but how they have been presented as sedimentations of ways of thinking about the world. The categories of description, (as in the four figures included in this paper) are seen as a form of discovery and as the main outcomes of such research activity. Comparison of alternative perspectives seeks to identify distinctive characteristics or essential structures of each conceptualization so they may be described and mapped--as in Theman's pathbreaking study (1983) of different conceptions of political power.

3. Mapping Knowledge Perspectives

Earlier examples of mapping knowledge in comparative and international education texts can be seen in Anderson (1961), where implicitly structural functionalism occupied all space; in Paulston (1977), where polarized equilibrium and conflict paradigms contested space; in Epstein (1983) where three distinct and supposedly irreconcilable paradigms labeled "neo-positivist," "neo-Marxist," and "neo-relativist," contested space; in Adams' (1988) presentation of Burrell and Morgan's boxy and "frozen" multidimensional typology; and in the interactive typologies, or "maps" presented in this study.

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

3.1 Macro Mapping

Maps are a distinct mode of visual representation that use space to represent space. They offer, as with textual and discourse analysis, "a system of possibility for knowledge" (Foucault, 1980). In Figure 3, paradigms and theories in the field of comparative education are presented in heuristic fashion as a macro intellectual field with four paradigmatic nodes derived from inter-textual and cross-textual analysis. Textual dispositions regarding social and educational change (the verticle dimension) and characterization of reality (the horizontal dimension) are the coordinates used to type and locate texts within the field. Several

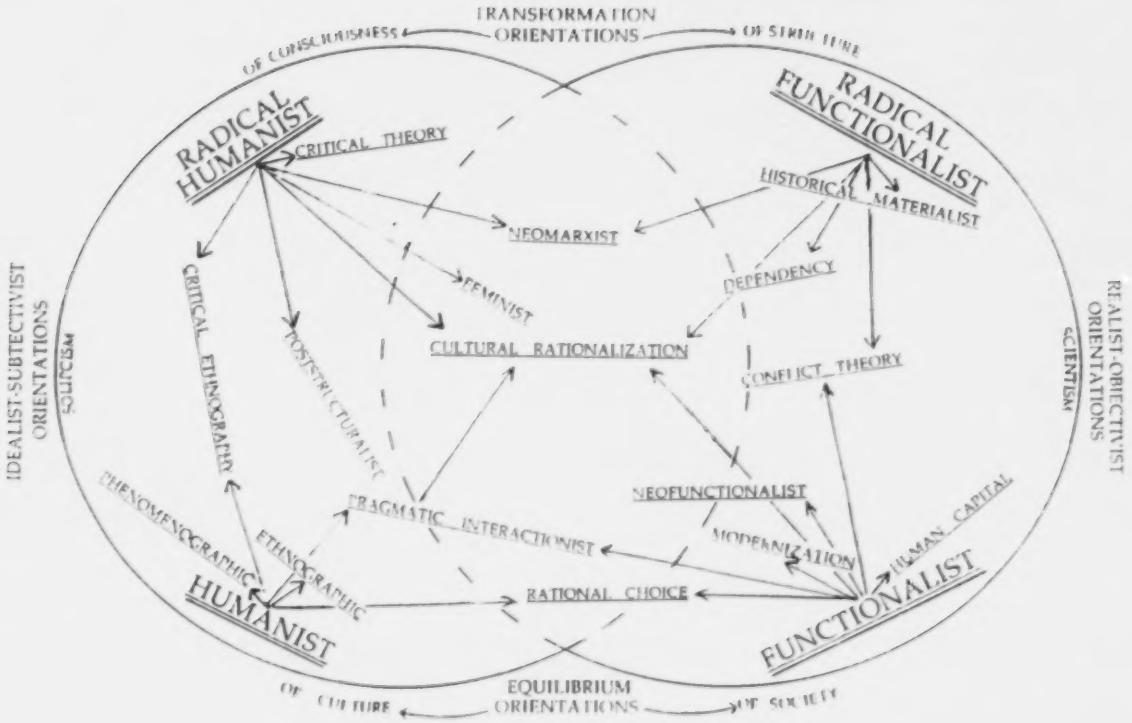

FIGURE 3: A MACRO MAPPING OF PARADIGMS AND THEORIES IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION SEEN AS AN INTELLECTUAL FIELD

Source: See texts cited in Figures 1 & 2

advantages of the figure may be noted. It facilitates, for example, the reinscription and resituation of meanings, events and objects in the field within broader movements. It suggests a dynamic and rhizomatic field of tangled roots. Comparative education is now seen as a mapping of the eclectic interweavings of knowledge communities rather than the more objectified images presented to the world in earlier foundational texts (Hall, 1992). The strength of social theory in the field today is in fact firmly grounded in this very multiplicity of its perspectives and tools known through intertexutal composition. Simultaneously, in cataloging and typologizing knowledge communities and relations, the four figures order and discipline this world, discover hierarchies and represent an act of control. Even with disclaimers of interpretive and heuristic intent, maps are clearly an act of power and should be so understood.

The paradox here is that conceptual mapping can create both authoritarian images, as well as new tools to challenge orthodoxy and the epistemological myth of cumulative scientific progress (Harley, 1989). Mapping offers comparative educators a valuable tool to capture the rhetoric and metaphor of texts, to open a way for intertextuality among competing discourses, and--when needed--a way to see all knowledge thoroughly enmeshed in the larger battles that constitute our world.

3.2 Micro Mapping

Figure 4 presents a textually derived micro mapping of paradigmatic world views and theoretical perspectives entering into and intertwined in a specific educational reform practice. This visual representation, in contrast to Figure 3, describes educational practice at a particular time and place--i.e., in Nicaraguan higher educational reform efforts in the early 1980's. Here practice is viewed as a hermeneutic circle where major stakeholders in the reform practice bring their guiding world views, ideas and theoretical perspectives into a goal oriented interactive educational change process (Paulston and Rippberger, 1991). Figure 4 suggests energy, behavior and accomplishments within the context of everyday life rather than, as in Figure 3,

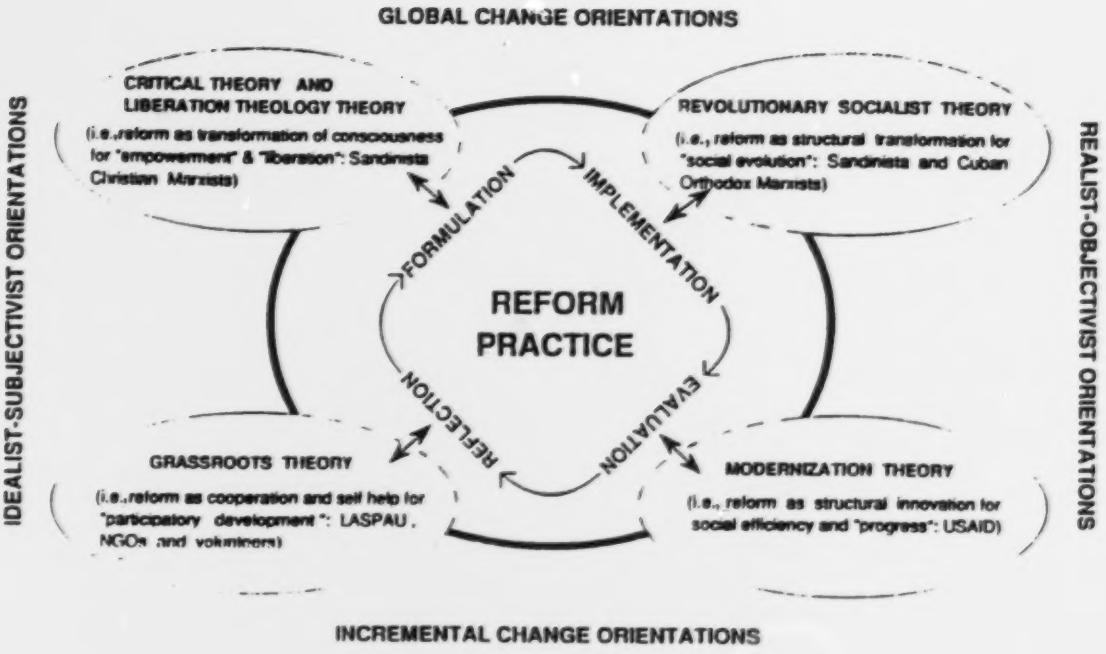
GLOBAL CHANGE ORIENTATIONS
CRITICAL THEORY AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY THEORY
(i.e.,reform as transformation of consciousness for "empowerment" & "liberation": Sandinista Christian Marxists)
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST THEORY
(i.e., reform as structural transformation for "social evolution": Sandinista and Cuban Orthodox Marxists)
FORMULATION
IMPLEMENTATION
REFORM PRACTICE
REFLECTION
EVALUATION
GRASSROOTS THEORY
(i.e.,reform as cooperation and self help for "participatory development": LASPAU, NGOs and volunteers)
MODERNIZATION THEORY
(i.e., reform as structural innovation for social efficiency and "progress": USAID)
IDEALIST-SUBJECTIVIST ORIENTATIONS
REALIST-OBJECTIVIST ORIENTATIONS
INCREMENTAL CHANGE ORIENTATIONS

FIGURE 4: A MICRO MAPPING OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE THEORIES IN NICARAGUAN HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM PRACTICE

Source: Paulston & Rippberger (1991)

a juxtaposition of the sources of intellectual energy identified in paradigmatic exemplars and the interaction of theoretical perspectives.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

Conclusion

This study, via textual analysis, examines the emergence of paradigmatic and theoretical conceptions of knowledge in comparative and international education over time as history; as a synchronic taxonomic structure; and as conceptual maps, both at macro and micro levels. Three major representations of knowledge in the field are identified as the orthodox, the heterodox, and the enfolding heterogeneous. Convergent trends across knowledge communities are also identified and discussed noting recent eclectic adaptations as comparative educators and their texts become more polyocular and reflexive, thus allowing new theory to emerge from combinations of existing theories and the paradigmatic dispositions of our time.

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